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REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

Pennsylvania Colonization Society,

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

PHILADELPHIA :

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY THOMAS KITE,

NO. 64 WALNUT STREET.

1830.

REPORT.

ON the 21st of October, 1829, a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, was held in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, for the purpose of considering the propriety of taking measures in aid of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Key, as the agent of the society, addressed the meeting, and stated, that the American Colonization Society, in consequence of its great exertions for some years past, in maintaining the colony established on the coast of Africa, had become involved in pecuniary embarrassments, which prevented any further active operations, and rendered it impossible to send out any more emigrants to Africa for some time. This, it was feared, would have an injurious effect upon the colony, both in depriving it of the usual annual additions, and in leading the colonists to suppose that they were forgotten or neglected. A more direct inconvenience was, that the society would be unable to provide for the transportation of a large number of slaves, whose liberty was promised on this condition. He said, that there were then more than six hundred slaves willing to go to Africa, and offered by their owners to the society on condition of their being sent to the colony. He then showed the effect of the operations of the Colonization Society in promoting the cause of Abolition, and that this was the only mode in which the friends of Abolition could hope for much success. It

is well known that the laws of most, if not all the southern states, discourage the manumission of slaves, unless they are removed from the state, and that therefore those benevolent persons who may wish to liberate their slaves, cannot do so unless they also procure their removal. Besides this, the condition of a slave suddenly emancipated, and thrown upon his own resources, is very far from being improved; and, however laudable the feeling which leads to such emancipation, its policy and propriety are at least questionable. By providing a refuge for these unhappy beings, the society removes a great obstacle to their manumission, and directly promotes the cause of Abolition. And, when it is considered, that the persons who thus offer to liberate their slaves, deprive themselves, by so doing, of a large portion of their property, they deserve every assistance in executing their benevolent intentions. That this is the cheapest and most direct method of promoting Abolition, was evident, since the emancipation of thousands might be procured for the mere expense of transporting them to Africa; whereas, in the ordinary mode, it requires a large sum to liberate a single individual, whose liberty when attained, is, frequently, any thing but a blessing.

Mr. Key concluded an eloquent address, by soliciting the aid of the citizens of Philadelphia for the American Colonization Society; and the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the views and purposes of the American Colonization Society, its arduous and successful labours in planting a prosperous colony of free people of colour on the shores of Africa, its influence in the southern states, by which a number of those who were born to slavery have been emancipated, and the assurances the society has received that a much greater number now in bondage will be made free when means are afforded to transport them to the colony, entitle the society to the confidence and support of the friends of the abolition of slavery.

Whereas, it appears to this meeting that several hundred persons, now held as slaves in the southern states, may be gratuitously liberated whenever the Colonization Society shall be able to send them to Africa, and that the emancipation of such slaves cannot be effected by any other arrangement—

Therefore resolved, That this meeting earnestly recommend to the consideration of the citizens of Philadelphia, the expediency and the duty of contributing to the liberation of the slaves referred to, and that the president and secretaries of this meeting, together with the managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, be a committee to obtain subscriptions and contributions, and to place the funds so collected at the disposal of the American Colonization Society, on condition that they be applied exclusively to the outfit and transportation of slaves, who, being willing to join the colony, can be liberated only with a view to their emigration.

Immediately after the meeting, the committee published the following circular, addressed to the "Inhabitants of Philadelphia."

FELLOW CITIZENS,—At a public meeting held in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, on the evening of the 21st instant, we were appointed to solicit aid to the funds of the American Colonization Society.

The most powerful, and, we trust, the most effectual appeal which can be made to your philanthropy, is the highly interesting *fact*, that the owners of upwards of *six hundred slaves*, have generously offered to emancipate them, as soon as funds are provided for their transportation, with their own consent, to the well-established, and prosperous colony of Liberia.*

* This settlement is situated at the mouth of the Montserado river, and contains upwards of fifteen hundred inhabitants, who enjoy, and participate in the management of a free government. The soil is fertile, and the climate

It is therefore your privilege, to be instrumental, not only to secure the freedom of these degraded persons, but to preserve from bondage their offspring, throughout all future time!

Can a nobler purpose be commended to your beneficence? Can a purer service be rendered towards an abject portion of your fellow beings?—We think not;—and judging from your characteristic liberality, we feel confident that you will assist in the accomplishment of this work of Justice, and of Mercy.

In reference to the efforts of the American Colonization Society, we would respectfully submit our opinion, that they have conferred distinguished benefits upon Africa herself; upon many of her descendants who have been restored from this country to her soil, and will continue to improve the condition of thousands of the coloured population, by elevating them to the enjoyment of the blessings of freemen in the land of their fathers.

We humbly trust, and fully believe, if the society be amply sustained, it will ultimately put an end to the odious foreign traffic in human flesh; and contribute more effectually to promote, and ensure the abolition of the institution of slavery in the United States, than any plan that has hitherto been devised.

Thus impressed, and convinced, we earnestly and affectionately invite toward that association, the patronage of every

congenial to their constitutions. The colonists have established relations of friendship and trade with the native chiefs, more than an hundred of whose children have been sent to Liberia, for instruction in the schools established there.

The colonists themselves shipped last year upwards of seventy thousand dollars worth of produce. A respectable merchant in this city has two vessels engaged in the trade with Liberia, and it is understood that more extensive commercial connections will soon be formed between that port and this. In New England, at New York and Baltimore, capital is advantageously employed in like enterprises with the colony and the adjacent part of the coast.

friend of the African race, and implore for its success the especial favour of Divine Providence.

WM. WHITE,
ROBERTS VAUX,
B. W. RICHARDS,
THOMAS C. JAMES,
J. K. MITCHELL,
GEORGE W. BLIGHT,
JAMES BAYARD,
ELLIOTT CRESSON.

Philadelphia, Oct. 22d, 1829.

After the distribution of this circular, the committee continued their attention to the object of their appointment; and, in the month of March last, made the following report, which was printed in the different newspapers of the city.

REPORT

Of the committee appointed at the meeting held in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, on the 21st of October last, in behalf of the American Colonization Society.

The committee report, that in pursuance of the resolution appointing them to obtain subscriptions and contributions in aid of the American Colonization Society—they proceeded to solicit subscriptions and donations, and have received the sum of \$2,290; besides one subscription of \$1000, and one of \$300, each payable in ten annual instalments.

They further report, that soon after they had commenced their collections, a communication was received by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, established in this city, from the American Colonization Society at Washington, stating that in consequence of the great exertions made by that society, their treasury was so much exhausted, that they could not, for some time, fit out another expedition to Africa; and suggesting that

the Pennsylvania Society should undertake one with the funds which might be raised in this city. The proposition was accepted by the Pennsylvania Society, and arrangements were immediately commenced for the contemplated expedition.

The brig *Liberia*, a newly built vessel of this port, was engaged to go to Norfolk in Virginia, there to receive on board such liberated slaves as should be assembled by the Parent Society, and sail thence on the 15th of January for the coast of Africa.

The terms agreed upon, were \$25 for each passenger over twelve years of age—\$12 50 for those between twelve and two, and nothing for infants under two. Within the time stipulated, the brig proceeded to Norfolk, and having received on board the emigrants, sailed for the colony with fifty-eight passengers, of whom forty-nine were liberated slaves, for whose passage the treasurer of the Pennsylvania Society paid the stipulated prices, on receiving from the society at Washington, a list of their names and ages, together with the places from which they had come. These, it is hoped, have before this time, safely reached their adopted home on the coast of Africa. Within a few days after the sailing of the *Liberia*, there arrived at Norfolk, after a toilsome journey of 600 miles over land on foot, a company of thirty enfranchised slaves, who had been liberated by a benevolent gentleman of Georgia, for the purpose of going to the colony—and had been expected to go in the *Liberia*; but unfortunately were delayed till after the vessel had sailed—and they had been obliged to remain at Norfolk, waiting another opportunity.

Under these circumstances, the society at Washington being anxious to send these and other liberated slaves to the colony, but unable from the state of their funds, to do so at present, expressed a desire that the managers of the Pennsylvania Society would provide for their transportation. This they have agreed to do, relying on the generosity of their fellow citizens to enable them to accomplish the undertaking. They have engag-

ed the brig *Montgomery*, to proceed from this port to Norfolk, where she is to take on board the emigrants, and proceed to the colony on the coast of Africa. The time fixed for sailing from Norfolk, is the 10th of April next, when it is expected that 100 emigrants will be there ready to embark.

For this purpose the committee placed all the money they have received, at the disposal of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society.

In making this disposition of funds collected by them, the committee felt themselves justified by the resolution under which they were appointed; and in submitting this report, they take the liberty of recommending this noble charity to the attention of their fellow citizens. That it is the best mode of promoting the cause of abolition, a cause deservedly cherished by the philanthropists of Pennsylvania, is evident from the fact, that by this means hundreds may be emancipated, and placed in a situation to enjoy all the blessings of liberty, at a comparatively small expense, (viz: merely the cost of conveying them to the colony, for their owners are willing to liberate them on condition that they will emigrate,) while by any other mode a large expenditure is necessary to purchase the freedom of a single individual, whose situation is, but too frequently, rendered much worse by the change.

Thus impressed, the committee earnestly and respectfully invite the patronage of every friend of the African race, to assist them in this work of beneficence: contributions in agricultural and mechanical implements, books and other articles suitable for the numerous schools for the children of the colony and of the natives, provisions, clothing and merchandise suitable for that purpose, will be thankfully received by John Hanson, N. E. corner of Market and Water streets, and Gerard Ralston, No. 103 South Front street. Donations in money by Dr. James, No. 7 York Buildings, Walnut street; by Gerard Ralston, No. 103 South Front street; Elliott Cresson, No. 30 Sansom street;

by Rev. G. Boyd, No. — Vine street; and by the Rev. C. M. Dupuy, No. 403 South Front street.

WILLIAM WHITE,

Chairman of the Committee.

ELLIOTT CRESSON, Secretary.

In pursuance of the arrangement mentioned in this report, the managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, chartered the brig *Montgomery* to go to Norfolk, where she took on board seventy emigrants,* and sailed thence for Liberia on the 29th of April. The average price of each passenger in the *Montgomery* was \$26 95, which also included the freight of a considerable quantity of provisions, and other articles, sent out for the use of the colony.

Since the sailing of the *Montgomery*, the *Liberia* has returned, after a prosperous voyage of forty-two days out, having remained three weeks at Monrovia. The account given by Captain Sherman, in his letter to the President of the society, which is annexed to this report, (see Appendix A. and B.) is highly interesting and gratifying to every friend of the colony. The testimony of Captain Sherman, who is a respectable and intelligent man, and had ample opportunity for observation, is calculated to confirm the hopes, and give new vigour to the efforts of those engaged in the cause of colonization. The managers take this opportunity of expressing their gratitude to Captain Sherman for his kindness and attention to the emigrants, and the ability with which he conducted the expedition committed to his care.

We have received by the *Liberia*, the first number of the

* Of these, nearly two-thirds being healthy and industrious adults, (mostly farmers and mechanics,) will prove a valuable acquisition to the strength of the colony : thirty individuals were manumitted by Col. Early of Georgia, six by Franklin Anderson, of Hagerstown, Md., six by Rev. Mr. Tilden, of Stephensburg, Va. and the remaining twenty-eight, by various benevolent persons near Lynchburgh, Va.

"**LIBERIA HERALD**," a newspaper which is to be published monthly at Monrovia, and the appearance of which may well be accounted an important æra in the annals of the colony. The following extracts from the prospectus published in this number, may serve to show the matter it will contain, and the manner in which it is to be conducted.

"The laws of the colony, the result of elections, the decisions of courts, and the reports of committees are to be made known, and what more expeditious and economical mode can be adopted for their publication."

"Our principal aim will be, the publication of the most interesting domestic and foreign occurrences of the day—the arrival and departure of vessels—dissertations on the manners and customs of the surrounding natives—and essays on subjects which shall have a tendency to cement more closely the bonds of society, and to uphold the hands of the lawful authorities."

The marine list contained in this number, besides the arrival of four foreign vessels at the "Port of Monrovia," mentions the sailing of three colonial schooners, on trading voyages along the coast of Africa, and the second number, since received, announces the arrival and departure of seventeen vessels. One of the colonists, who has resided seven years in Liberia, came out with Captain Sherman, and gives a most flattering account of the situation of the colony. The object of his visit to this country, is to see his friends, and take with him, to Africa, his mother, and other relatives, who reside in this city. He intends to return in a few weeks.

Annexed to this report, (Appendix C. and D.) are two letters from Captain Jno. B. Nicolson, of the U. S. Navy, which are valuable for the information they contain, and as giving the opinion of an unprejudiced observer, of the state of the colony; and also an interesting exposition of the views and feelings of the colonists themselves, contained in their circular addressed

to the colored people of this country. (See Appendix E.) Mr. Clay's address to the Colonization Society of Kentucky, also annexed, is an eloquent and impressive account of the origin, operations, and views, of the American Colonization Society. (See Appendix F.)

In concluding this report, the board cannot withhold from their fellow citizens the expression of their grateful sense of the liberality with which they have seconded our humble exertions : the whole sum contributed,* amounting to

		\$3999 50
They have disbursed as follows:		
Expedition of 58 passengers per Brig		
Liberia,	\$1327 22	
70 passengers and stores		
per Brig Montgomery,	1887 00	
		3214 22
Leaving a Balance of		\$785 28

This sum they propose to appropriate towards fitting out another expedition, to sail early in the ensuing autumn, if borne out by that munificence for which our city has been so long distinguished : they would therefore particularly invite their attention to the generous offer of a gentleman who has already subscribed several hundred dollars, and who proposes to be " one of twenty-five persons, who shall contribute \$100 each, to insure the fulfilment of this benevolent plan."

In addition to the sums collected in Philadelphia, we have received from the Chester County Colonization Society the sum of \$113, contributed by the inhabitants of Chester county in aid of these expeditions, in pursuance of resolutions adopted

* They have also to acknowledge the receipt of three kegs of medicine from Benjamin Johnson; fifteen pair of shoes from Robert Murphey; and several ploughs and harrows from Rush and Muhlenburgh.

at a meeting held in West Chester at the request of the managers of this society.

Philadelphia has already contributed much to this great object, by sending two vessels with colonists to Liberia, and it would be a source of noble satisfaction, if our city, by sending a third, should set an example for other parts of the Union to imitate. Were arrangements made for sending, annually at least, one vessel freighted with emigrants to the coast of Africa, the colony would soon be in a condition to render foreign support unnecessary, and a flourishing people would express their gratitude to those who had removed them from a state of degradation, to the enjoyment of all the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

THOMAS C. JAMES,

President.

JAS. BAYARD,

Secretary pro. tem.

APPENDIX

A.

*Letter from Capt. W. E. Sherman, captain of the brig Liberia, to
Dr. Thomas C. James, President of the Pennsylvania
Colonization Society.*

[The author is an experienced, pious master of a ship, well known to many of the most respectable merchants in New-York and Philadelphia.]

Philadelphia, June 4th, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

In relation to circumstances attending my late voyage, you are aware that the brig Liberia, under my command, was engaged last December by your Society, to take as many emigrants to Africa, as could get ready to embark at Norfolk by the 10th of January following.

In pursuance of this object I proceeded to that port with the brig, where I arrived the 1st of January, and took on board fifty-eight persons, men, women and children. With this number I sailed from Norfolk on the 14th of January, and from Hampton Roads on the 16th, and proceeded to sea. The first ten days of our passage was unpleasant to the emigrants, in consequence of having much rain, and from sea-sickness. After which, the weather became pleasant, and they were healthy and cheerful the remainder of the passage.

Among the passengers was the Rev. George Erskine, a Presbyterian minister, with his wife, five children (the youngest about ten years old,) and his mother, who was born in Africa, about eighty years of age. All this family were born slaves, their freedom was bought by Mr. Erskine, that of his mother excepted. Erskine himself is a very intelligent man; he preached for us every Sabbath during the passage, sermons that would have been listened to with pleasure by any Christian audience. In reply to my question respecting his views in emigrating, he said: "Captain Sherman, I am going to a new country to settle myself and family as agriculturalists; to a country where we shall be at least on a level with any of our fellow citizens; where the complexion will be no barrier to our filling the most exalted station. I shall cultivate the land assigned me by the Colonization Society, and if it please God to spare my life, shall be always ready to do good as opportunity offers."

I had on board another interesting man by the name of Cook. He was about seventy years of age, and had a very patriarchal appearance. His family amounted to thirty in number, who all evidenced the benefits resulting

from the counsel, admonition and direction of a good old man, whom they loved and respected. They were Methodists from Lynchburg, Virginia.

In the character of the others there was nothing peculiar. They all appeared to understand the purpose for which they were emigrating, and I have no doubt they will become useful members of society in the flourishing settlement where they are located. They were all submissive to the rules of the ship during the time they were with me. I believe there was but one man among them who was addicted to profane swearing, and he never transgressed in my hearing.

After a passage of forty-two days, I landed the emigrants at Liberia, all in good health and spirits. They were located at Caldwell, about seven miles from the sea, on the river St. Pauls. They frequently visited Monrovia while I was in that place, and expressed much satisfaction with their situation and prospects. On taking leave of me the day before I left Monrovia, Erskine said, (evidently with much sincerity,) "I can never be thankful enough to God for directing my views to this country."

For particulars respecting the state of the colony, I refer you to my letter to Edward Hallowell Esquire, published in the United States Gazette of May 20th, and Poulson's Advertiser of the 21st.

No person possessing the feelings which in my opinion give a dignity to man, can view the interesting settlement of Monrovia, without rejoicing that a civilized and Christian community is established in benighted Africa, with prospects of dispensing blessings to millions of that degraded people. That you may meet with those aids from a generous public which your exertions so richly merit, in the furtherance of your laudable designs, is the sincere wish of your

Obedient servant,

WM. E. SHERMAN.

P. S. Permit me to suggest to you the propriety of preparing a bill of fare for future emigrants more consistent with their usual diet than our navy rations. Ship biscuit they cannot eat, especially the women and children, and salt beef they use little of, and are not fond of it. I would substitute corn-meal for biscuit five days in the week, and fish, say mackarel, for beef, three days in the week, molasses and vinegar one day more in the week than is given in the navy—potatoes plentifully, and whiskey not at all. This would not be more expensive, and would be more agreeable to them, and conducive to their health.

Do not forget chloride of lime, with directions how to use it; I experienced the good effects of it in purifying the ship's hold.

W. E. S.

B.

Letter from Capt. W. E. Sherman, captain of the Liberia, which carried the colonists to Liberia in January last.

Philadelphia, May 10, 1830,

MR EDWARD HALLOWELL,

Dear Sir—As you expressed a wish that I should commit to writing some account of our colony in Africa, for your own information and that of your friends, I with pleasure comply with your request, and will

give you all the information I could obtain in the three weeks I was there last March.

The tract of country purchased by the Colonization Society of the United States, from African kings, with a view of providing an asylum for emancipated slaves, and a residence for any free persons of color who might be desirous of going thither, is called, as you very well know, by the appropriate name of *Liberia*.

The first settlement and capital of the colony is *Monrovia*, situated in lat. 6, 21, N. and 10, 30, W. long., about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of the river Montserado, and about three quarters of a mile from the point of the cape, bearing the same name. The river St. Paul empties into the sea a short distance from the Montserado. For the first two years, the emigrants lived in small thatched houses, and about five years ago, the first dwelling constructed of timber and boards, was built on the site of the present town, in a forest of trees of towering height, and a thick underwood. Tigers entering this (then) little village, have been shot from the doors. The first settlers had many difficulties to encounter, as is usually the case in establishing a new settlement; but all those difficulties have been happily overcome, and the people are now enjoying the benefits of their persevering industry.

Monrovia, at present, consists of about *ninety dwelling houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a court house*. Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, and all of them comfortable. The plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated about seventy feet above the level of the sea, and contains *seven hundred inhabitants*. The streets are generally one hundred feet wide, and, like those of our good city, intersect each other at right angles. The Colonization Society have an agent and physician there.

The agent is the chief magistrate of the colony, and the physician his assistant. No white people are allowed to reside in the colony for the purpose of trade, or of pursuing any mechanical business, such being intended for the exclusive benefit of colored people. The colonial secretary, collector of customs, surveyor, and constables, are appointed by the agent;—the vice-agent, sheriff, treasurer, and all other civil officers are elective, and all the offices except that of the agent and physician are filled by colored people.

The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month; juries are empannelled as with us, and its jurisdiction extends over the whole colony. The trials are, principally, for larceny, and the criminals generally natives, who commit thefts in the settlements. A few instances of kidnapping have occurred; these depredations were committed on the recaptured Africans. To the honor of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanor since 1827.

Two native kings have put themselves and their subjects (supposed to amount to ten thousand,) under the protection of the colony, and are ready, should it be thought necessary or expedient by the settlers to put into their hands arms, to make common cause with them in case of hostilities by any of the natives; which, however, is not anticipated, as the most friendly disposition is manifested by all the natives of the country from whom any danger might have been apprehended.

The township of *Caldwell* is about seven miles from Monrovia, on St. Paul's river, and contains a population of five hundred and sixty agriculturists. The soil is exceedingly fertile, the situation pleasant, and the people satisfied and happy. The emigrants carried out by me, and from whom I received a pleasing and satisfactory account of that part of the country, are located there.

Millsburg is situated twenty-five miles from *Monrovia*, on the *St. Paul's*, at the head of tide water, where there are never failing streams, sufficient for one hundred mills; and there is timber enough in the immediate neighbourhood for their employment, if used for the purpose of sawing, for half a century. The town contains two hundred inhabitants.

Bushrod's Island, which separates the *Montserado* from the *St. Paul's* river, is seven miles in length, three at its extreme breadth, about five miles from *Monrovia*, and is very fertile; on this island are settled thirty families from the *Carolinas*. All the above settlers, amounting to at least fifteen hundred, are emigrants from the United States.

On the left bank of *Stockton Creek*, and near the settlement on *Bushrod's Island*, the recaptured Africans are located; two hundred and fifty of whom were sent out by the government of the United States, and one hundred and fifty taken by the colonists from the Spanish factories; the agents of which having bought some of our kidnapped Africans, and refusing to give them up, the colonists not only took their own people but the slaves they had collected. These four hundred, who are useful agriculturalists, are happily situated and very contented. The settlements of which I have spoken, contain in the aggregate, nearly two thousand souls, and are in a flourishing condition.

I have been frequently asked, since my return from *Liberia*, whether there is no danger of the natives breaking in upon the colonists and destroying them. The best answer I can give to this question, in addition to what I have already said, is a statement of the following facts.

When the colonists could muster but thirty effective men for defence, and when the forest was in pistol shot of their houses, five thousand of the natives, armed with muskets and other weapons of war, made an attack upon them in three divisions. A part of this little band were surprised by the left division, who took possession of one of their two cannon, a nine pounder; but instead of making use of it, (if indeed they knew how,) for the piece was loaded with grape and round shot, and a lighted match placed near it, the possessors were seen embracing it, powwowing over it, and vociferating, "big gun, big gun," till the other, a four pounder, was brought to bear on them under the direction of *Lot Cary*, and plied with so much precision and activity, that they retreated. The gun was retaken and turned on the invaders, when they made their escape to the forest. There was some skirmishing from the bush until one of their *Gree-gree** men was slain, carried off by our men, and thrown into the river. This event entirely disheartened them, they went off, and have from that time never appeared in hostile array against the colonists. Many of them have traded with the colony ever since, but they would not acknowledge that they were engaged in the war, till, from an intercourse of some time, they found it would not be remembered to their prejudice. They then related many singular and amusing anecdotes respecting it, and acknowledged the loss of seventy to eighty men killed. If I remember right, the colonists lost but two or three of their little band.

The means the colony have for defence, at present, consist of twenty pieces of ordnance, and muskets, &c. for 1000 men, which may be increased from private stores if wanted. In *Monrovia* there are, *Capt. Steward's* company of Infantry, *Weaver's* company of Artillery, and *Draper's* company of Rifle Rangers. In *Caldwell, Davis's* company of Infantry, and *Brown's* of Artillery. In *Millsburg*, *White's* company of Rifle Rangers. All these are volunteers and in uniform; besides which, a respectable number of militia, not in uniform, and as many of the natives under the protection of the colonial go-

* *Gree-gree men are a kind of prophets or conjurors.*

vernment as it may think proper to arm. These facts will, I think, satisfy any man as to the safety of the colonists from attacks by the natives.

There is a respectable fort on Cape Montserado, which commands the roadstead, and has protected an English vessel chased in by a pirate. The military are commanded by Major Barbour—the *Commander in Chief*, is the society's agent.

There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia, and among the inhabitants a greater proportion of moral and religious characters than in this city. I never saw a man intoxicated, nor heard any profane swearing during the three weeks I was among them.

The two houses for religious worship already noticed, are Baptist and Methodist—the Baptists have three and Methodists five preachers, all intelligent colored men, merchants and traders, residing among them; so that the people have nothing to pay for the support of ministers. Five German Missionaries, some ministers and teachers reside there, a portion of whom preach at the Methodist church occasionally.

A trading company has been formed at Monrovia, with a capital of \$4,000, and an agreement entered into that no dividend shall be made until the profits increase the capital to \$20,000. The stock has risen from 50 to 75 dollars per share, in one year.

It has been objected that the climate is very unhealthy,—this is true as respects the whites, but erroneous as respects the colored people. Those from the middle and northern states have to undergo what is called a seasoning,—that is, they generally take the fever the first month of their residence, but it has rarely proved fatal, since accommodations have been prepared for their reception; those from Georgia, the Carolinas, and the southern parts of Virginia, either escape the fever altogether, or have it very slightly. Deaths occur there, indeed, as in other places, but Doctor Mechlin, the agent, assured me that the bills of mortality would shew a less proportion of deaths, than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York.

I have given you a statement of facts as nearly as I could ascertain them. If there be any errors, they are, I am persuaded, unimportant, for my information has been derived from respectable sources in that country, and my own observation induces me to believe that what I have written is substantially correct.

I will add my opinion, though I fear you may think it presumptuous. I have no hesitation in saying that I believe Liberia will, in time, become a great nation, and be the means, eventually, of civilizing a great part of Africa, and I should hope the whole of that benighted country. There are already in Monrovia, at least 60 children of native parents, and there would be, if wanted, many more.

Do you ask what kind of government the Liberians would establish, if a great nation and left to themselves; I answer, a republican, unquestionably. The intelligent emigrants having been brought up in this country, and the first laws in operation among them being republican, they would be as well prepared for happiness under such a government, as any people in the world. The adult male inhabitants consider themselves *men*, and know how to enjoy the blessings of a free institution, and will never surrender their liberties, but with their lives. They are now as patriotic Americans as our fore-fathers were loyal subjects of the kings of England. Should they receive no further aid from this country, they will nevertheless, in my opinion, attain to greatness eventually, but if that aid which I think they so justly deserve, should be continued, their progress to this end will be greatly accelerated.

Some are of opinion that Hayti is preferable to Liberia for colored people to emigrate to; a little reflection will, I think, shew the error of this opinion. Hayti is and ever has been in the hands of military despots: the Hay-

tians have never known what rational liberty was, nor ever can. Experience has shown this to be the case. What would people of color from this country gain by going to Hayti?—they would be kept as laborers, “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” to the haughty Haytian. They would have no share in the government, and could never rise to any degree of eminence. If they must have masters, they prefer white to those of their own color; this I have found to be universally their sentiment. The manners and customs of the Haytians are different from those of our people as is their language. The religious and even moral colored people, cannot be happy where the sabbath is a day of revelry and dissipation, and they considered as heretics, and where the morals of the people are little better than those of the native African.

Many of our citizens seem to think that the object and only object of the Colonization Society, is to get clear of a surplus colored population; I have very little personal acquaintance with any of the members, but I never can attribute a motive so selfish to that society. Their objects then can only be the laudable ones of bettering the condition of an injured people, diminishing slavery in our country, and the civilization of Africa, all which appear to me attainable.

You may say I have given you much extraneous matter, which has but little bearing on the main question—true, but I am writing to a friend, whose goodness I know will pardon this digression, and who can expect no better from an old seaman.

Yours, truly,
W. E. SHERMAN.

C.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Nicolson, of the United States Navy, to the Hon. Henry Clay.

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1823.

SIR—Having visited the Colony of Liberia, on my return to the United States, from a cruise in the Mediterranean, I cheerfully comply with your request, by presenting to you such views of its present condition and probable growth, as occurred to me in the course of that visit.

The soil in the possession of the colonists is rich, and will produce a superabundance for the support of the colony, as well as for external commerce. Sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, and various trees and plants, yielding valuable dyes, and medicinal gums, can be cultivated with success.

The population is now 1,200,* and is healthy and thriving. The children born in the country are fine looking, and I presume can be raised as easily as those of the natives. All the colonists with whom I had any communication, (and with nearly the whole I did communicate in person, or by my officers,) expressed their decided wish to remain in their present situation, rather than to return again to the United States. I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning that eight of my crew, (coloured mechanics,) after going on shore, two several days, applied for, and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers. These

* In March 1830, the number had increased to 2,000, besides the natives who had placed themselves under the protection of the Colony.

men had been absent from their country upwards of three years, and had, among them, nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced that their happiness and prosperity would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps forever, where they all had left friends and relatives.

The appearance of all the colonists, those of Monrovia as well as those of Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had, by trade, accumulated a competency, if the possession of from three to five thousand dollars may be called so. As a proof of the growing importance of the commerce of the country, more than 100 hogsheads of tobacco had been imported during the last year, and the demand was increasing. Ivory and camwood are now the prominent articles received in exchange for foreign imports; other dyewoods, and many medicinal gums and roots will be hereafter brought in, as they are already known to exist in the interior.

I take this occasion to suggest the propriety of permitting any of the colonists to purchase an additional number of acres of land from the agent. By permitting this, the more enterprising will be enabled to turn their attention to the culture of the coffee tree, which grows spontaneously in the vicinity of Monrovia. In fact, the soil will produce every thing which a tropical climate will allow to arrive at maturity.

From the good order and military discipline which appear to prevail among the colonists, I am induced to believe they could easily repel any attack which could be made upon them by any native force. They have arms, and having associated themselves into volunteer companies, have acquired the knowledge of using them with effect, against any probable force which might be brought to bear upon them, by undisciplined and scattered tribes in their vicinity. It is true, they have no harbors for large vessels, as all their rivers are obstructed by bars. This is not of much consequence to their coasting trade, as they have many harbors and inlets, which are accessible to small vessels. Large vessels have also one advantage; that most of the heavy winds are off the coast, which gives them a lee and a smooth sea. Off Cape Mesurado, there is a good anchorage, and on the pitch of the cape they have planted a battery, which will protect any vessel that may need it, from piratical depredations.

I would respectfully suggest, for your consideration, the propriety of making the principal Agent of the Colony, a "Commercial Agent," as cases have occurred on the coast, when such an appointment might have proved the means of rescuing American property from the hands of foreigners, who have maintained possession of it in consequence of there being no legalized American agent on the coast.

The importance of this colony, as regards the native tribes of the coast, is, in my estimation, great. They already begin to perceive that it is civilization and the blessings of religion, which give superiority to man over his fellow man. They had supposed it was the white skin; but now they see, in their neighbourhood, men of their own color, enjoying all those advantages hitherto deemed peculiar to the former. This has elicited a spirit of inquiry, which must tend to their benefit. The philanthropist may anticipate the day when our language and religion will spread over this now benighted land. The slave trade will cease as the colony progresses, and extends its settlements. The very spot, where now exists a free people, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves. This fact alone is entitled to consideration, and ought to arouse the zeal of the friends of humanity everywhere.

Our large cities complain of the number of free blacks, who have, by their

petty crimes, filled their penitentiaries. Would not the colony be benefitted by the labor of these men, and the community relieved by their transportation? I certainly think the colony sufficiently strong, both morally and physically, to prevent any injury from their admission. I do not pretend to point out the mode or character in which they ought to be received. This I leave to those who are more able to judge on the subject. I see that the colony is now in want of numbers, to clear and cultivate a country which will amply repay them for the labor.

I take leave to mention, that the climate is much like that of all similar latitudes; and, as the land is rich, and most of it still in woods, we must expect that bilious fevers will sometimes prevail; but I do not think it more unhealthy, to the colored people, than our extreme southern coast; and as the soil of Liberia becomes cleared and cultivated, I have no doubt it will be found as healthy as any other southern latitude. It was, I believe, never intended, that the white man should inhabit this region of the globe; at least we know that the diseases of this climate are more fatal to him, than to the man of color. They luxuriate in the intense heat, while a white man sinks under its exhausting influence.

I confess, sir, that, since I have visited this colony, I have felt a strong interest in its prosperity, and hope that it will thrive under the auspices of a Society, among whom are some of our most distinguished citizens.

If what I have communicated shall prove instrumental, in the slightest degree, to sustain you in the cause of humanity, and of this degraded race, I shall rejoice that my duty called me to witness the growing prosperity of the Colony of Liberia.

With sentiments of high respect, I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

JNO. B. NICOLSON,

Late Commander of the U. S. Ship Ontario.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY,

Vice President of the Colonization Society.

Capt. Nicolson's Letter to the Rev. J. M. Wainwright, 1 Rector-street.

D.

New-York, October 21st. 1829.

SIR,

In answer to your note requesting my views relative to the Colony of Liberia, I take leave to state, that my impressions have not been altered since writing the enclosed letter addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay, Vice President of the Society, upon my return from Liberia.

I have had an opportunity, since my return, of conversing with several of the colonists who have visited this country and have again returned to Liberia. From their conversation, with all the information derived from other sources, I am convinced more and more of the utility of supporting a colony which will have the effect of again restoring the descendants of this race to their natural soil and climate, with every advantage of civilization, and it is to be hoped, with the blessings of religion. Every philanthropist ought to rejoice at the prospect of sending the *only missionaries* which the climate will allow them to receive; for the white man is not calculated, from this cause, to carry those blessings, the knowledge of which alone raises man above the Savage.

I conceive this colony to be the most effectual mode of destroying the hor-

old traffic which has been, and is now the disgrace of civilization. The slave trade no doubt has received a more effectual check since the establishment of the colony of Liberia, than for a century before: this is a powerful motive to call forth the best energies of our countrymen, who have so strenuously endeavoured to destroy this traffic, both by the acts of our government, as well as individual exertion.

That the colony will, in a few years, be enabled to support itself by the product of the country and from commerce, I still have no doubt. The location of the settlement is a good one for health, as far as the climate will permit. The land is free from swamp, but of a rich alluvial soil, with a river running through the valley, and the country, as far as the eye extends, is interspersed with hills of considerable magnitude, which, as understood from those who had visited the interior, extend far back. It was considered more healthy as you left the coast, as is the case in our southern country. I cannot but believe it is one of the most important colonies which has been established since the settlement of our continent, both as regards religion and civilization. So much has been already said at the late meeting, by the gentlemen whose eloquence gave a charm to this interesting question, that it would be a useless attempt on my part to endeavour to excite your feelings, even had I the eloquence or power. I however beg to say, that as far as my observations allow me to judge, a visit occasionally, from the gentleman who may be (white) agent of the Society, would be sufficient to enable them to govern themselves in such a manner as to ensure to them the respect and confidence of the several nations around them. Thus throwing themselves more upon their own resources, would give them confidence within themselves, nor do I believe that confidence would be abused. They appeared, when I was among them, to take pride in seeing their laws respected and obeyed, and none more so than those which related to religion and morality.

The prosperity of the Society, I cannot but take a lively interest in, and it will always afford me sincere pleasure to further its views, both in my public character, when in my power, as well as individually.

That you and the other gentlemen may be successful in calling the attention of our countrymen to this truly interesting and important question, is the sincere wish of

Respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

JNO. B. NICOLSON.

To the Reverend

J. M. WAINWRIGHT, 1 Rector-street.

E.

Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Colour in the U. S.

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, held at the Court House, on the 27th day of August, 1827, for the purpose of considering the expediency of uniting in an address to the Coloured People of the United States, JOHN H. FOLKS, Esq. in the chair, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five persons be appointed, to frame a circular address, to be published in the United States, for the better information of the People of Color in that country, respecting the state of this Colony, and the condition of the settlers; and

That Captains James C. Barbour and F. Devaney, W. L. Weaver, esq. and

the Rev. C. M. Waring and George R. McGill, be the committee to prepare and report the said address, on Tuesday, the 4th day of September next.

TUESDAY, September 4th, 1827.

The forenamed committee reported the following address, which was adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to the United States, and there published, for the information of the Colored People of that country :

(CIRCULAR.)

As much speculation and uncertainty continues to prevail among the People of Color in the United States, respecting our situation and prospects in Africa : and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to us, and, in their effects, injurious to them ; we felt it our duty, by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavour to correct them.

The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty—liberty, in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word : not a licentious liberty, nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws—but that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free State. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country ; and, from causes which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget forever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is probably the first object on which you will ask for information. And we must truly declare to you, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized. Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, “ all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States ; ” and these rights and privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own : they grow out of our circumstances ; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves ; we serve as jurors in the trial of others ; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens, ourselves. We have all that is meant by *Liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers ; having the commerce, and soil, and resources, of the country at our disposal ; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very colour stamped us in America : there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters—that repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons for the happy change which has taken place in our situation. We are not so self-complacent as to rest satisfied with our improvement, either as regards our minds or our circumstances. We do not expect to remain stationary. Far from it. But we certainly feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve either to any purpose. The burthen is gone from our shoulders : we now breathe and move freely ; and know not (in surveying your present state) for which to pity you most—the empty name of liberty, which you endeavour to content yourselves with, in a country that is not yours, or

the delusion which makes you hope for ampler privileges in that country hereafter. Tell us, which is the white man, who, with a prudent regard to his own character, can associate with one of you, on terms of equality? Ask us, which is the white man who would decline such association with one of our number, whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? To both these questions we unhesitatingly make the same answer:—There is no such white man.

We solicit none of you to emigrate to this country: for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you, in America. But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher—if your minds are not as servile as your present condition—we can decide the question at once; and with confidence say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

But we do not hold this language on the blessings of liberty for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the suffering of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health after a few month's residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are, and have been, much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations in the United States.

We have nearly all suffered from sickness, and, of the earliest emigrants, a large proportion fell in the arduous attempt to lay the foundation of the Colony. But are they the only persons whose lives have been lost in the cause of human liberty, or sacrificed to the welfare of their fellow-men? Several out of every ship's company have, within the last four years, been carried off by sickness, caused by the change of climate. And death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to the time of his residence in this country. But we never hoped, by leaving America, to escape the common lot of mortals—the necessity of death, to which the just appointment of Heaven consigns us. But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves.

The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this Colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and, in the case of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the Colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty, from the Middle and Southern states, has died from the change of climate. The disastrous fate of the company of settlers who came out from Boston in the brig Vine, eighteen months ago, is an exception to the common lot of emigrants; and the causes of it ought to be explained. Those people left a cold region in the coldest part of Winter, and arrived here in the hottest season of our year. Many of them were too old to have survived long in any country. They most imprudently neglected the prescriptions of our very successful physician, the Rev. Lot Carey, who has

great experience and great skill in the fevers of the country, and depended on medicines brought with them, which could not fail to prove injurious. And, in consequence of all these unfortunate circumstances, their sufferings were severe, and many died. But we are not apprehensive that a similar calamity will befall any future emigrants, except under similar disadvantages.

People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them ; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them ; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the Colony.

But you may say, that even health and freedom, as good as they are, are still dearly paid for, when they cost you the common comforts of life, and expose your wives and children to famine, and all the evils of want and poverty. We do not dispute the soundness of this conclusion either : but we utterly deny that it has any application to the people of Liberia.

Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country : they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men, as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure which never fades ; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests ; and may be cultivated, at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Indian corn, guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary Winter here, for one half of the year to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the laps of the industrious. We could say on this subject, more ; but we are afraid of exciting, too highly, the hopes of the imprudent. It is only the industrious and virtuous that we can point to independence, and plenty, and happiness, in this country. Such people are nearly sure to attain, in a very few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they may in vain hope for in the United States ; and however short we come of this character ourselves, it is only a due acknowledgment of the bounty of Divine Providence to say, that we generally enjoy the good things of this life to our entire satisfaction.

Our trade is chiefly confined to the coast, to the interior parts of the continent, and to foreign vessels. It is already valuable, and fast increasing. It is carried on in the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee : and it brings us, in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world.—Seldom, indeed, is our harbour clear of European and American shipping ; and the bustle and thronging of our streets, show something, already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States.

Mechanics, of nearly every trade, are carrying on their various occupations ; their wages are high ; and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.

Not a child or youth in the Colony but is provided with an appropriate school. We have a numerous public library, and a court house, meeting

houses, school houses, and fortifications sufficient, or nearly so, for the Colony, in its present state.

Our houses are constructed of the same materials, and finished in the same style, as in the towns of America. We have abundance of good building stone, shells for lime, and clay, of an excellent quality, for bricks. Timber is plentiful, of various kinds, and fit for all the different purposes of building and fencing.

Truly we have a goodly heritage: and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this Colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted, by his Providence, to this shore.—Such great favours, in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but His special blessing.—This we acknowledge. We only want the gratitude which such signal favours call for. Nor are we willing to close this paper without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons and best earthly benefactors, whose wisdom pointed us to this home of our nation, and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it. Judge, then, of the feelings with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced—and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what that Society has accomplished; too weak to look through its plans and intentions; or too dishonest to acknowledge either. But without pretending to any prophetic sagacity, we can certainly predict to that Society, the ultimate triumph of their hopes and labours, and disappointment and defeat to all who oppose them. Men may theorize, and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of Christian instruction, and scenes of Christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian empire, happy themselves, and the instruments of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and goodness of the plan of Colonization.

Where is the argument that shall refute facts like these? And where is the man hardy enough to deny them?

F.

An Address delivered to the Colonization Society of Kentucky, at Frankfort, December 17, 1829, by the Hon. Henry Clay, at the request of the Board of Managers.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF KENTUCKY:

I most sincerely wish that the task of addressing you, on this occasion, had been assigned, by the Board of Managers, to some individual more competent than I am to explain and illustrate and enforce the claims of the Society to the friendly and favorable consideration of the public. I yield to none in a thorough persuasion of the utility of the scheme of the Society, in a profound

conviction of its practicability, and in an ardent desire for its complete success. But I am sensible that there are many others who could more happily than I can, throw around the subject those embellishments which are best calculated to secure attention, and engage the cordial and energetic co-operation of the community. When the application was first made to me to deliver this address, I hesitated to comply with it, because I apprehended that my motives would be misconceived, and my language be misrepresented. Subsequent reflection determined me to adhere to the maxim of my whole life, to endeavor to render all the good in my power, without being restrained by the misconceptions to which I might expose myself. In entering upon the duty which has devolved upon me, I ask only the exercise of ordinary liberality in judging the imperfections which will doubtless mark its performance.

In surveying the United States of North America and their Territories, the beholder perceives, among their inhabitants, three separate and distinct races of men, originally appertaining to three different continents of the globe, each race varying from the others in colour, physical properties, and moral and intellectual endowments. The European is the most numerous; and, as well from that fact, as from its far greater advance in civilization and in the arts, has the decided ascendancy over the other two, giving the law to them, controlling their condition, and responsible for their fate to the Great Father of all, and to the enlightened world. The next most numerous and most intelligent race, is that which sprung from Africa, the largest portion of which is held in bondage by their brethren, descendants of the European. The aborigines, or Indian race, are the least numerous, and, with the exception of some tribes, have but partially emerged from the state of barbarism in which they were found on the first discovery of America. Whence, or how they came hither, are speculations for the research of the curious, on which authentic history affords no certain light.

Their future fortunes or condition, form no part of the subject of this Address. I shall, I hope, nevertheless, be excused for the digression of dedicating a few passing observations to the interesting remnant of these primitive possessors of the New World. I have never been able to agree in the expediency of employing any extraordinary exertions to blend the white and copper coloured races together, by the ceremony of marriage. There would be a motive for it if the Indians were equal or superior to their white brethren in physical or intellectual powers. But the fact is believed to be otherwise.—The mixture improves the Indian, but deteriorates the European element.—Invariably, it is remarked, that those of the mixed blood, among the Indians, are their superiors in war, in council, and in the progress of the useful arts, whilst they remain in the rear of the pure white race still farther than they are in advance of the pure Indian. In those instances (chiefly among the French) during the progress of the settlement of this continent, in which the settlers have had most intercourse with the Indians, they have rather sunk to the level of their state, than contributed essentially to their civilization.

But if there be no adequate recommendation to the white race of an union, by intermarriage, with the Indian, we are enjoined, by every duty of religion, humanity and magnanimity, to treat them with kindness and justice, and to recal them, if we can, from their savage to a better condition. The United States stand charged with the fate of these poor children of the woods in the face of their common Maker, and in the presence of the world. And, as certain as the guardian is answerable for the education of his infant ward, and the management of his estate, will they be responsible here and hereafter for the manner in which they shall perform the duties of the high trust which is committed to their hands, by the force of circumstances. Hitherto, since the United States became an independent power among the nations of the earth, they have generally treated the Indians with justice, and performed towards them all the offices of humanity. Their policy, in this respect, was

vindicated during the negotiations at Ghent, and the principles which guided them in their relations with the Indians, were then promulgated to all Christendom. On that occasion, their representatives, holding up their conduct in advantageous contrast with that of Great Britain and the other powers of Europe, said: "From the rigor of this system, however, as practiced by Great Britain and all the European powers in America, the humane and liberal policy of the United States has voluntarily relaxed. A celebrated writer on the law of nations, to whose authority British jurists have taken particular satisfaction in appealing, after stating, in the most explicit manner, the legitimacy of colonial settlements in America, to the exclusion of all rights of uncivilized Indian tribes, has taken occasion to praise the first settlers of New-England, and the founder of Pennsylvania, in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate, notwithstanding their being provided with a charter from their sovereign. It is this example which the United States, since they became, by their independence, the sovereigns of the territory, have adopted and organized into a *political system*. Under that system, the Indians residing within the United States are *so far independent*, that they live under *their own customs and not under the laws of the United States*; that their rights upon the lands where they inhabit or hunt, are *secured* to them by boundaries defined in *amicable treaties* between the United States and themselves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also by *amicable and voluntary treaties*, by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to the land ceded by them. They are so far dependent as not to have the right to dispose of their lands to any private person, nor to any power other than the United States, and to be under *their protection alone*, and not under that of any other power. Whether called subjects, or by whatever name designated, *such* is the relation between them and the United States. The relation is neither asserted now for the first time, nor did it originate with the treaty of Greenville. These principles have been *uniformly recognized* by the Indians themselves, not only by that treaty, but in *all the other previous as well as subsequent treaties* between them and the United States." Such was the solemn annunciation to the whole world of the principles and of the system regulating our relations with the Indians, as admitted by us and recognized by them. There can be no violation of either, to the disadvantage of the weaker party, which will not subject us, as a nation, to the just reproaches of all good men, and which may not bring down upon us the maledictions of a more exalted and powerful tribunal.

Whether the Indian portion of the inhabitants of the United States will survive or become extinct, in the progress of population, which the European race is rapidly making from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific ocean, *provided they are treated with justice and humanity*, is a problem of less importance. The two races are not promiscuously mingled together, but are generally separate and distinct communities. There is no danger to the whites or to their purity, from the power or from the vices of the Indians.—The case is widely different with those who form the immediate object of this address.

The African part of our population, or their ancestors, were brought hither forcibly and by violence, in the prosecution of the most abominable traffic that ever disgraced the annals of the human race. They were chiefly procured, in their native country, as captives in war, taken, and subsequently sold by the conqueror as slaves to the slave trader. Sometimes the most atrocious practices of kidnapping were employed to obtain possession of the victims. Wars were frequent between numerous and barbarous neighbouring tribes scattered along the coasts or stretched upon the margin of large rivers of Africa. These wars were often enkindled and prosecuted for no other object than to obtain a supply of subjects for this most shocking commerce. In

these modes, husbands were torn from their wives, parents from their children, brethren from each other, and every tie cherished and respected among men, was violated. Upon the arrival, at the African coast, of the unfortunate beings thus reduced to slavery, they were embarked on board of ships carefully constructed and arranged to contain the greatest amount of human beings.—Here they were ironed and fastened in parallel rows, and crowded together so closely, in loathsome holes, as not to have room for action or for breathing wholesome air. The great aim was to transport the largest possible number, at the least possible charge, from their native land to the markets for which they were destined. The greediness of cupidity was frequently disappointed and punished in its purposes, by the loss of moities of whole cargoes of the subjects of this infamous commerce, from want and suffering and disease on the voyage. How much happier were they who thus expired, than their miserable survivors!

These African slaves were brought to the continent of America, and the Islands adjacent to it, and formed the parent stock of the race now amongst us. They were brought to the colonies, now constituting the United States, under the sanction and by the authority of British laws, which, at an early period of our colonial existence, admitted and tolerated the trade. It is due to our colonial ancestors to say, that they frequently and earnestly, but unsuccessfully, remonstrated to the British Crown against the continuance of the practice. The introduction of slavery into this country is not, therefore, chargeable to them, but to a government in which they had no voice, and over which they had no control. It is equally due to our parent state to advert to the honorable fact, that, in the midst of the Revolutionary war, when contending for her own independence and liberty, she evinced the sincerity of the spirit in which those remonstrances had been addressed to the British throne, by denouncing under the severest penalties, the further prosecution of the slave trade, within her jurisdiction. And I add, with great satisfaction, that the Congress of the United States passed an act, abolishing the trade as early as by their constitution it was authorised to do. On the second day of March, 1807, the act was passed, for which it was my happy lot to vote, the first section of which enacts, "That from and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign kingdom, place or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of color, with intent to hold, sell or dispose of such negro, mulatto or person of color, as a slave, or to be held to service or labour."—Thus terminated, we may hope forever, in the United States, a disgraceful traffic, which drew after it a train of enormities surpassing in magnitude, darkness, and duration, any that ever sprang from any trade pushed by the enterprise or cupidity of man.

The United States, as a nation, are not responsible for the original introduction, or the subsequent continuance of the slave trade. Whenever, as has often happened, their character has been assailed in foreign countries, and by foreign writers, on account of the institution of slavery among us, the justness of that vindication has been admitted by the candid, which transfers to a foreign government the origin of the evil. Nor are the United States, as a sovereign power, responsible for the continuance of slavery within their limits, posterior to the establishment of their Independence; because by neither the articles of confederation, nor by the present constitution, had they power to put an end to it by the adoption of any system of emancipation. But from that epoch, the responsibility of the several states in which slavery was tolerated commenced, and on them devolved the momentous duty of considering whether the evil of African slavery is incurable, or admits of a safe and practical remedy. In performing it, they ought to reflect, that if when a given remedy is presented to their acceptance, instead of a due examination and deliberate consideration of it, they promptly reject it, and manifest an impatience whenever a suggestion is made of any plan to remove the evil, they

will expose themselves to the reproach of yielding to the illusions of self-interest, and of insincerity in the professions which they so often make of a desire to get rid of slavery. It is a great misfortune, growing out of the actual condition of the several states, some being exempt, and others liable to this evil, that they are too prone to misinterpret the views and wishes of each other in respect to it. The North and the South and the West, when they understand each other well, must be each convinced, that no other desire is entertained towards the others by any one of them, than for their welfare and prosperity. If the question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them. For I believe, that the aggregate of the evils which would be engendered in society, upon the supposition of such general emancipation, and of the liberated slaves remaining promiscuously among us, would be greater than all the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.

The several States of the Union were sensible of the responsibility which accrued to them, on the establishment of the independence of the United States, in regard to the subject of slavery. And many of them, beginning at a period prior to the termination of the Revolutionary war, by successive but distinct acts of legislation, have effectively provided for the abolition of slavery, within their respective jurisdictions. More than thirty years ago an attempt was made in this Commonwealth, to adopt a system of gradual emancipation, similar to that which the illustrious Franklin had mainly contributed to introduce, in the year 1779, in the state founded by the benevolent Penn. And, among the acts of my life, which I look back to with most satisfaction, is that of my having co-operated with other zealous and intelligent friends, to procure the establishment of that system in this state. We believed that the sum of good which would have been attained by the State of Kentucky, in a gradual emancipation of her slaves, at that period, would have far transcended the aggregate of mischief which might have resulted to herself and the Union together, from the gradual liberation of them, and their dispersion and residence in the United States. We were overpowered by numbers, but submitted to the decision of the majority, with the grace which the minority, in a Republic, should ever yield to such a decision. I have, nevertheless, never ceased, and never shall cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been to place us in the rear of our neighbours, who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvement, and the general prosperity of society.

Other States, in which slavery exists, have not been unmindful of its evils, nor indifferent to an adequate remedy for their removal. But, most of them have hitherto reluctantly acquiesced in the continuance of these evils, because they thought they saw no practical scheme for their removal, which was free from insuperable objection and difficulty. Is there then really no such remedy? Must we endure, perpetually, all the undoubted mischiefs of the state of slavery, as it affects both the free and bond portions of the population of these States? Already the slaves may be estimated at two millions, and the free population at ten, the former being in the proportion of one to five of the latter. Their respective numbers will probably duplicate in periods of thirty-three years. In the year '63 the number of the whites will probably be twenty, and of the blacks four millions; in ninety-six, forty and eight, and the year 1929, about a century, eighty and sixteen millions. What mind is sufficiently extensive in its reach, what nerves sufficiently strong, to contemplate this vast and progressive augmentation, without an awful foreboding of the tremendous consequences? If the two descriptions of population were equally spread and intermingled over the whole surface of the United States, their diffusion might diminish the danger of their action

and corrupting influence upon each other. But this is not the state of the fact. The slaves of the United States are chiefly restricted to one quarter of the Union, which may be described with sufficient general accuracy, by a boundary, beginning with the mouth of the Potomac river, extending to its head, thence to the Ohio river, and down it and the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico, and with that and the Atlantic ocean and the Bay of Chesapeake to the beginning. Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, a part of Louisiana and Arkansas, compose the whole of the residue of the slave district of the United States. Within those limits all our slaves are concentrated; and, within a portion of them, irresistible causes tend inevitably to their further concentration. In one of the States comprised within these limits, the slave stock had, at the last census, the superiority in numbers, whilst, in several others the enumeration exhibits the two races in pretty nearly equal proportions.

Time alone, which unveils every thing, permitted men to see, can disclose the consequences, now wrapt in futurity, of the state of things which I have slightly touched. But, without violating his prerogative, we may venture to catch, in anticipation, a glimpse of some of them.

The humanity of the slave States of the Union has prompted them greatly to meliorate the condition of slaves. They are protected, in all instances, by just laws, from injury extending to their lives, and in many from cruelty applied to their persons. Public opinion has done even more than the laws in elevating their condition in the scale of human existence. In this state, as well as in others, they are treated with much kindness, and abundantly supplied with substantial food of meat and bread and vegetables, and comfortable clothing, whilst they are moderately tasked in labour. But still they are subject to many civil disabilities, and there is a vast space between them and the race of freemen. Our laws continue to regard them as property, and, consequently, as instruments of labour, bound to obey the mandate of others. As a mere labourer, the slave feels that he toils for his master and not for himself; that the laws do not recognize his capacity to acquire and hold property, which depends altogether upon the pleasure of his proprietor; and that all the fruits of his exertions are reaped by others. He knows that, whether sick or well, in times of scarcity or abundance, his master is bound to provide for him, by the all-powerful influence of the motive of self-interest. He is generally, therefore, indifferent to the adverse or prosperous fortunes of his master, being contented, if he can escape his displeasure or chastisement, by a careless and slovenly performance of his duties.

This is the state of the relation of master and slave, prescribed by the law of its nature, and founded in the reason of things. There are undoubtedly many exceptions, in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with a zealous and generous devotion, and the master to the slave with a parental and affectionate attachment. But it is not my purpose to speak of those particular though endearing instances of mutual regard, but of the general state of the unfortunate relation.

That labour is best, if it can be commanded, in which the labourer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry; that his employment depends upon his diligence, and his reward upon his assiduity. He has then every motive to excite him to exertion, and to animate him in perseverance.—He knows that if he is treated badly he can exchange his employer for one who will better estimate his service; that he does not entirely depend upon another's beck and nod, and that whatever he earns is *his*, to be distributed by himself, as he pleases, among his wife and children and friends, or enjoyed by himself. He feels, in a word, that he is a free agent, with rights and privileges and sensibilities.

Wherever the option exists to employ, at an equal hire, free or slave labour, the former will be decidedly preferred, for the reasons already assigned. It is more capable, more diligent, more faithful; and, in every respect, worthy of

more confidence. In the first settlement of some countries, or communities, capital may be unable to command the free labour which it wants, and it may, therefore, purchase that of slaves. Such was and yet is the condition of many parts of the United States. But there are others, and they are annually increasing in extent, in which the labour of freemen can be commanded at a rate quite as cheap as that of slaves, in States which tolerate slavery.

Although in particular States, or parts of States, the increase of the African portion of the population would seem to be greater than that of the European stock, this fact is believed to be susceptible of an explanation, from the operation of causes of emigration, which would not assign to it greater prolific powers. On the contrary, all the enumerations of the people of the United States sustain clearly the position, that, contrasting the whole European race throughout the Union with the whole of the African race, bond and free, also throughout the Union, the former multiplies faster than the latter. As time elapses our numbers will augment, our deserts become peopled, and our country will become as densely populated as its agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial faculties will admit. In proportion to the density of population are the supply and the wages of labour. The demand for labour also increases with the augmentation of numbers, though probably not in the same proportion. Assuming our present population at twelve millions, when it shall be increased, as in about thirty years it will be, to twenty-four millions, we shall have double the amount of available labor that we can command at present. And there will consequently be a great, though probably not proportionate, reduction in the wages of labour. As the supply of labourers increases, a competition will arise between, not only individuals, but classes for employment. The superior qualities which have been attributed to free labour will insure for that the preference, wherever the alternative is presented of engaging free or slave labour, at an equal price. This competition, and the preference for white labour, are believed to be already discernable in parts of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, and probably existed in Pennsylvania and other States north of Maryland, prior to the disappearance of slaves from among them. The march of the ascendancy of free labour over slave, will proceed from the North to the South, gradually entering first the States nearest to the free region. Its progress would be more rapid, if it were not impeded by the check resulting from the repugnance of the white man to work among slaves, or where slavery is tolerated.

In proportion to the multiplication of the descendants of the European stock, and the consequent diminution of the value of slave labour, by the general diminution of wages, will there be an abatement in the force of motives to rear slaves. The master will not find an adequate indemnity in the price of the adult for the charges of maintaining and bringing up the offspring. His care and attention will relax; and he will be indifferent about incurring expenses when they are sick, and in providing for their general comfort, when he knows that he will not be ultimately compensated. There may not be numerous instances of positive violation of the duties of humanity, but every one knows the difference between a negligence, which is not criminal, and a watchful vigilance stimulated by interest, which allows no want to be unsupplied. The effect of this relaxed attention to the offspring will be to reduce the rates of general increase of the slave portion of our population, whilst that of the other race, not subject to the same neglect, will increase and fill up the void. A still greater effect, from the diminution of the value of labour, will be that of voluntary emancipations; the master being now anxious to relieve himself from a burthen, without profit, by renouncing his right of property. One or two facts will illustrate some of these principles. Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about \$100, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed

that the climate of that province was unfavorable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the United States abolished the slave trade, the price of adults rose very considerably, greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children, and now no where is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the Southern States is supposed to be more favorable to rearing the offspring. The serfs of Russia possess a market value inferior to that of the African slaves of the U. States; and, although the lord is not believed to be bound to provide for the support of his dependent, as the American master is for his slave, voluntary manumissions of the serf are very frequent, influenced in some degree no doubt by his inconsiderable value.

What has tended to sustain the price of slaves in the U. States has been, that very fact of the acquisition of Louisiana, but especially the increasing demand for cotton, and the consequent increase of its cultivation. The price of cotton, a much more extensive object of culture than sugar cane, regulates the price of slaves as unerringly as any one subject whatever is regulated by any standard. As it rises in price, they rise; as it falls, they fall. But the multiplication of slaves, by natural causes, must soon be much greater than the increase of the demand for them; to say nothing of the progressive decline which has taken place, in that great Southern staple, within a few years, and which there is no reason to believe will be permanently arrested. Whenever the demand for the cultivation of sugar and cotton comes to be fully supplied, the price of slaves will begin to decline; and as that demand cannot possibly keep pace with the supply, the price will decline more and more. Farming agriculture cannot sustain it; for it is believed that no where in the farming portion of the U. States would slave labour be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern market, which keeps it up in his own.

Partial causes may retard the decline in the value of slaves. The tendency of slaves is to crowd into those countries or districts, if not obstructed by the policy of States, where their labour is most profitably employed. This is the law of their nature, as it is the general law of all capital and labor. The slave trade has not yet been effectively stopt in the Island of Cuba. Whenever it is, as slaves can be there more profitably employed, on more valuable products than in the U. States, and as the supply there is much below the demand which will arise out of the susceptibilities of the island for agricultural produce, they will rise in price much higher there than in the U. S. If the laws do not forbid it, vast numbers will be exported to that island. And if they do prohibit it, many will be smuggled in, tempted by the high prices which they will bear.

But neither this, nor any other conceivable cause, can for any length of time, check the fall in the value of slaves to which they are inevitably destined. We have seen that, as slaves diminish in price, the motive of the proprietors of them to rear the offspring will abate, that consequent neglect in providing for their wants will ensue, and consequent voluntary emancipation will take place. That adult slaves will, in process of time, sink in value even below a hundred dollars each, I have not a doubt. This result may not be brought about by the termination of the first period of their duplication, but that it will come, at some subsequent, and not distant period, I think perfectly clear. Whenever the price of the adult shall be less than the cost of raising him from infancy, what inducement will the proprietor of the parent have to incur that expense? In such a state of things, it will be in vain that the laws prohibit manumission. No laws can be enforced or will be respected, the effect of which, is the ruin of those on whom they operate. In spite of all their penalties, the liberation or abandonment of slaves will take place.

As the two races progressively multiply and augment the source of supply of labor, its wages will diminish, and the preference already noticed will be

given of free to slave labor. But another effect will also arise. There will be not only a competition between the two races for employment, but a struggle, not perceptible perhaps to the superficial observer, for a subsistence. In such a struggle the stronger and more powerful race will prevail. And as the law which regulates the state of population in any given community, is derived from the quantity of its subsistence, the further consequence would be an insensible decline in the increase of the weaker race. Pinched by want and neglected by their masters, who would regard them as a burthen, they would be stimulated to the commission of crimes, and especially those of a petty description.

When we consider the cruelty of the origin of negro slavery, its nature, the character of the free institutions of the whites, and the irresistible progress of public opinion, throughout America as well as in Europe, it is impossible not to anticipate frequent insurrections among the blacks in the United States. They are rational beings like ourselves, capable of feeling, of reflection and of judging of what naturally belongs to them as a portion of the human race. By the very condition of the relation which subsists between us, we are enemies of each other. They know well the wrongs which their ancestors suffered at the hands of our ancestors, and the wrongs which they believe they continue to endure, although they may be unable to avenge them. They are kept in subjection only by the superior intelligence and superior power of the predominant race. Their brethren have been liberated in every part of the continent of America, except in the United States and the Brazils. I have just seen an act of the President of the Republic of the United Mexican States, dated no longer ago than the 15th of September last, by which the whole of them in that Republic have been emancipated. A great effort is now making in Great Britain, which tends to the same ultimate effect, in regard to the negro slaves in the British West Indies.

Happily for us no such insurrection can ever be attended with permanent success, as long as our Union endures. It would be speedily suppressed by the all-powerful means of the United States; and, it would be the madness of despair in the blacks that should attempt it. But if attempted in some parts of the United States, what shocking scenes of carnage, rapine, and lawless violence might not be perpetrated before the arrival at the theatre of action of a competent force to quell it! And after it was put down, what other scenes of military rigour and bloody executions would not be indispensably necessary to punish the insurgents, and impress their whole race with the influence of a terrible example!

Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are, by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned. There are many honourable exceptions among them, and I take pleasure in bearing testimony to some I know. It is not so much their fault as the consequence of their anomalous condition. Place ourselves, place any men in the like predicament, and similar effects would follow. They are not slaves, and yet they are not free.—The laws, it is true, proclaim them free; but prejudices, more powerful than any laws, deny them the privileges of freemen. They occupy a middle station between the free white population and the slaves of the United States, and the tendency of their habits is to corrupt both. They crowd our large cities, where those who will work can best procure suitable employment, and where those who addict themselves to vice, can best practice and conceal their crimes. If the vicious habits and propensities of this class were not known to every man of attentive observation, they would be demonstrated by the unerring test of the census. According to the last enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States it appeared that the rate of its annual increase was only about two and a half per cent. whilst that of the other classes was about three. No other adequate cause for this disproportion can be assigned, but that of the

improvidence and vices of the class referred to. If previous enumerations exhibited different results, they were owing chiefly to the accession of numbers, which it received by the acquisition of Louisiana, and the events of St. Domingo. But, if the reasoning which I have before employed be correct, this class is destined by voluntary manumission or abandonment, to increase, and ultimately perhaps to be more numerous in the United States, than their brethren in bondage, if there be no provision for their removal to another country.

Is there no remedy, I again ask, for the evils of which I have sketched a faint and imperfect picture? Is our posterity doomed to endure forever not only all the ills flowing from the state of slavery, but all which arise from incongruous elements of population, separated from each other by invincible prejudices, and by natural causes? Whatever may be the character of the remedy proposed, we may confidently pronounce it inadequate, unless it provides efficaciously for the total and absolute separation, by an extensive space of water or of land, at least, of the white portion of our population from that which is free of the colored.

This brings me to the consideration of the particular scheme of the American Colonization Society, to which this is auxiliary. That scheme does not owe the first conception of its design to any individuals, by whose agency the Society was first constituted. Several of them, and especially the late Rev. Mr. Finley, of New Jersey, and Mr. Caldwell, of the District of Columbia, were entitled to great praise for their spirited exertions in the formation and organization of the Society. But the original conception of such a project is to be traced to a date long anterior to their laudable efforts on this subject. However difficult it might have been supposed to be in the execution, it was an obvious remedy, and the suggestion of it may be referred back to a period as remote as the Revolutionary war. The State of Virginia, always pre-eminent in works of benevolence, prior to the formation of the American Colonization Society, by two distinct acts of her Legislature, separated by intervals of time of sufficient length to imply full deliberation, expressed her approbation of the plan of Colonization.

In considering the project of the American Colonization Society, our first inquiry should be into what it really is—then what it has done; and, finally, what it is capable of achieving. It is a voluntary association, formed for benevolent purposes, as must be freely acknowledged by all, if they should even prove the experiment to be impracticable. Its aim is to transport to the Western shores of Africa, from the United States, all such free persons of color as choose voluntarily to go. From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. It is not only without inclination, but it is without power, to make any such interference. It is not even a chartered or incorporated company; and it has no other foundation than that of Bible Societies, or any other Christian or charitable unincorporated companies in our country. It knows that the subject of emancipation belongs exclusively to the several States in which slavery is tolerated, and to individual proprietors of slaves in those States, under and according to their laws. It hopes, indeed, (and I trust that there is nothing improper or offensive in the hope) that if it shall demonstrate the practicability of the successful removal to Africa, of free persons of color, with their own consent, the cause of emancipation, either by States or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced. That hope is founded not only on the true interest of both races of our population, but upon the assertion, so repeatedly made, that the great obstacle to emancipation arose out of the difficulty of a proper disposal of manumitted slaves. Its pecuniary means, applicable to the design of the Institution, are voluntarily contributed by benevolent States or

individuals. The States of Virginia and Maryland, besides numerous pious or generous persons throughout the United States, have aided the Society.

Such was the object of the American Colonization Society, organized at the City of Washington about thirteen years ago. Auxiliary institutions have been formed, in various parts of the Union, to aid and co-operate with the parent association, which have limited their exertions chiefly to the transmission to the Treasurer of the Society, of such funds as they could collect, by the voluntary contributions of benevolent and charitable individuals. The auxiliary society for the state of Kentucky, which I now address, was organized at the commencement of the present year.

The American Colonization Society, so constituted, with such objects and such means, shortly after its formation, went into operation. It transacts its business at home, principally through a Board of Managers, which for the sake of convenience is fixed in the Metropolis of the Union, and in Africa, through an agent abiding there and acting under instructions received from the Board. The Society has an annual session in the City of Washington, which is attended by its members, and by representatives from such of the auxiliary institutions as can conveniently depute them, at which sessions the Board of Managers makes a report of the general condition of the affairs of the Society, during the previous year.

It would be an inexcusable trespass upon your time to enter into a minute narrative of all the transactions of the Society from its commencement up to this time. Those who choose to examine them particularly, will find them recorded in the several reports of the Board of Managers, which from time to time have been published under its direction and authority. It will suffice at present to say, that one of the earliest acts of the Society was to despatch a competent agent to Africa, to explore its coast and the countries bordering upon them, and to select a suitable spot for the establishment of the contemplated colony. The Society was eminently fortunate in the choice of its agent, as it has been generally in those whom it subsequently engaged in its service. A selection was finally made of a proper district of country, a purchase was effected of it from the native authorities, [in December, 1822,] to which additions have been made as the growing wants of the colony, actual or anticipated, required. The country so acquired, upon terms as moderate as those on which the Government of the Union extinguishes the Indian title to soil within the United States, embraces large tracts of fertile land, capable of yielding all the rich and varied products of the tropics, possesses great commercial advantages, with an extent of sea coast from 150 to 200 miles, and enjoys a salubrious climate, well adapted to the negro constitution, and not so fatal to that of the whites as many thickly peopled parts of the United States.

Within that district of country, the Society founded its colony, under the denomination of Liberia, established towns, laid off plantations for the colonists, and erected military works for their defence. Annually, and as often as the pecuniary circumstances of the Society would admit, vessels from the ports of the United States have been sent to Liberia, laden with emigrants and with utensils, provisions and other objects for their comfort. No difficulty has been experienced in obtaining as many colonists as the means of the Society were competent to transport. They have been found indeed, altogether inadequate to accommodate all who were willing and anxious to go. The rate of expense of transportation and subsistence during the voyage, per head, was greater in the earlier voyages. It was subsequently reduced to about \$20, and is believed to be susceptible of considerable further reduction. The number of colonists, of both sexes, amounts now to about 1500.

The Colony, in the first period of its existence, had some collisions with the native tribes, which rose to such a height as to break out in open war. The

war was conducted by the late gallant Mr. Ashmun, with singular good judgment and fortune, and was speedily brought to a successful close. It had the effect to impress upon the natives, a high idea of the skill, bravery and power of the colonists, and having since become better acquainted with them, perceived the advantages of the Colony, and gradually acquired a taste for its commerce and arts, no further misunderstanding with them is apprehended, and the Colony is daily acquiring a salutary influence over them.

The Colony has a government adequate to the protection of the rights of persons and property, and to the preservation of order. The agent of the society combines the functions of governor, commander-in-chief, and highest judicial officer. The colonists share in the government, and elect various officers necessary to the administration. They appoint annually Boards or Committees of Public Works, of agriculture and of health, which are charged with the superintendence of those important interests. It has established schools for the instruction of youth, and erected houses of public worship, in which divine service is regularly performed. And it has a public library of twelve hundred volumes, and a printing press, which issues periodically a gazette.

The colonists follow the mechanical arts, or agriculture, or commerce, as their inclinations or attainments prompt them. The land produces rice, cassada, coffee, potatoes, and all kinds of garden vegetables; and is capable of yielding sugar cane, indigo, in short, all the productions of the Tropics. It is rich, easily tilled, and yields two crops of many articles in the circle of a year. They carry on an advantageous commerce with the natives by exchanges for ivory, gums, dye-stuffs, drugs and other articles of African origin; and with the United States, which is annually increasing, and which amounted last year to \$60,000, in the produce of the colony, and in objects acquired by their traffic with the natives; receiving, in return, such supplies of American and other manufactures as are best adapted to their wants.

Such is the present condition of the Colony, according to the latest intelligence. Here the Society may pause, and with its pious and enlightened patrons and a generous public, look back with proud satisfaction, on the work, which, with the blessings of Providence, has so prospered. That, in its progress, it has met with obstacles and experienced discouragements, is most true. What great human undertaking was ever exempt from them? Its misfortunes in Africa have been similar in character, though it is confidently believed, less in degree, than those which generally attend the establishment of distant colonies, in foreign lands, amidst ignorant and untutored savages.—A large portion of the deaths which have taken place may be attributed to rash exposure, and other imprudencies, under an untried sun, and subject to the action of a strange climate. But the Colony can triumphantly exhibit its bills of mortality, in comparison with those of other colonies, in their early foundation, on this or any other continent. And experience justifies the hope, that the instances of mortality will constantly diminish with the augmented population, means and strength of the colony.

But at home, in the parent country, here in the United States, notwithstanding the concurrence of so many powerful motives recommending success to the exertions of the society, has it met with the most serious opposition and bitter denunciation. At one time, it has been represented as a scheme to forgo stronger and perpetual chains for the slaves among us. Then, that it had a covert aim to emancipate them all immediately, and throw them, with all their imperfections loose upon society. Those who judged less unfavorably of the purposes of the institution, pronounced it a bright vision, impracticable in its means and Utopian in its end. There is unfortunately, in every community, a class not small, who, devoid themselves of the energy necessary to achieve any noble enterprise, and affecting to penetrate with deeper sagacity into the projects of others, pronounce their ultimate failure, with self-complacency,

and challenge by anticipation, the merit of prophetic wisdom. Unmoved by these erroneous and unfriendly views, the Society, trusting to the vindication which time and truth never fail to bring, has proceeded steadily and perseveringly in its great work. It has not been deceived. It has every where found some generous patrons and ardent friends. The Legislatures of more than half the states of this enlightened Union, among which I am happy to be able to mention our own, have been pleased to express their approbation of the scheme. It has conciliated the cordial support of the pious clergy of every denomination in the United States. It has been countenanced and aided by that fair sex, which is ever prompt to contribute its exertions in works of charity and benevolence, because it always acts from the generous impulses of pure and uncorrupted hearts. And the Society enrolls amongst its members and patrons, some of the most distinguished men of our country, in its Legislative, Executive and Judicial councils. We should be guilty of an unpardonable omission, if we did not on this occasion, mingle our regrets with those of the whole people of these states, on account of a lamented death of one of them, which has recently occurred. He was the President of the American Colonization Society from its origin, and throughout the entire period of its existence. Like the Father of his country, his illustrious relative, whose name he bore and whose affection he enjoyed, he was mild and gentle, firm and patriotic. The Bench, of which he was an ornament, and the Bar of which he was the delight, feeling his great loss, deeply share with us all in the grief which it produces.

The Society presents to the American public no project of emancipation, no new chains for those who are unhappily in bondage, no scheme that is impracticable. It has no power, and it seeks none. It employs no compulsion, and it desires to employ none. It addresses itself solely to the understanding; its revenue flows from spontaneous grants, and all its means and agents and objects are voluntary.

The Society believes it is within the compass of reasonable exertions to transport annually to the colony of Liberia, a number of free persons of color, with their own voluntary consent, equal to the annual increase of all that class in the United States. That annual increase, estimated according to the return of the last census, from the parent stock of 233,530, at a rate of augmentation of 2 1-2 per cent. per annum, may be stated to be 6000. Estimating the whole expense of the voyage at \$20 per head, the total cost of their transportation will be \$120,000. Is this sum of such an appalling amount as to transcend the ability of the people of the United States? All admit the utility of the separation of the free people of color from the residue of the population of the United States, if it be practicable. It is desirable for them, for the slaves of the United States, and for the white race. Here invincible prejudices exclude them from the enjoyment of the society of the whites, and deny them all the advantages of freemen. The bar, the pulpit, and our legislative halls are shut to them, by the irresistible force of public sentiment.—No talents however great, no piety however pure and devoted, no patriotism however ardent, can secure their admission. They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty which here they can never enjoy. In all the walks of society, on every road which lies before others to honor and fame and glory, a moral incubus pursues and arrests them, paralyzing all the energies of the soul, and repressing every generous emotion of laudable ambition. Their condition is worse than that of the fabled Tantalus, who could never grasp the fruits and water which seemed within his reach. And when they die

"Memory o'er their tomb no trophies raises."

Why should such an unfortunate class desire to remain among us? Why should they not wish to go to the country of their forefathers, where, in the

language of the eloquent Irish barrister, they would "stand redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the mighty genius of universal emancipation."

The vices of this class do not spring from any inherent depravity in their natural constitution, but from their unfortunate situation. Social intercourse is a want which we are prompted to gratify by all the properties of our nature. And as they cannot obtain it in the better circles of society, nor always among themselves, they resort to slaves, and to the most debased and worthless of the whites. Corruption, and all the train of petty offences, are the consequences. Proprietors of slaves in whose neighbourhood any free colored family is situated, know how infectious and pernicious this intercourse is. And the penal records of the tribunals, especially in the large cities, bear frightful testimony to the disproportionate number of crimes committed by the free people of color. The evil of their increase in those cities is so enormous as to call loudly for effective remedy. It has been so sensibly felt in a neighbouring city (Cincinnati) as to require, in the opinion of the public authorities, the enforcement of the vigorous measure of expulsion of all who could not give guaranties of their good behaviour. Their congregation in our great capitals has given rise to a new crime, perpetrated by unprincipled whites, and of which persons of that unhappy colored race are the victims.—A New-York paper of the 27th ult. but lately fell into my hands, in which I found the following articles: "Beware of kidnappers! It is *well understood* that there is at present in this city, a gang of kidnappers, busily engaged in their vocation of stealing colored children for the Southern market! It is believed that three or four have been stolen within as many days. A little negro boy came to this city from the country three or four days ago. Some strange white persons were very friendly to him, and yesterday morning he was mightily pleased that they had given him some new clothes. And the persons pretending thus to befriend him, entirely secured his confidence. This day he cannot be found. Nor can he be traced since seen with one of his new friends yesterday. There are suspicions of a foul nature, connected with some who serve the police in subordinate capacities. It is hinted that there may be those in some authority, not altogether ignorant of these diabolical practices. Let the public be on their guard." To which the editor of the paper from which this quotation is made, appends the following remarks:—"It is still fresh in the memories of all, that a cargo or rather drove of negroes was made up from this city and Philadelphia, about the time that the emancipation of all the negroes in this state took place under our present constitution, and were taken through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee, and disposed of in the state of Mississippi. Some of those who were taken from Philadelphia were persons of intelligence, and after they had been driven through the country in chains, and disposed of by sale on the Mississippi, wrote back to their friends, and were rescued from bondage. The persons who were guilty of this abominable transaction are known, and now reside in the state of North Carolina, and very probably may be engaged in similar enterprises at the present time—at least there is reason to believe, that the system of kidnapping free persons of color from the Northern cities, has been carried on more extensively than the public are generally aware of."

Whilst the concurrence is unanimous as to the propriety of the separation of the free colored race, and their removal to some other country, if it be practicable, opinions are divided as to the most proper place of their destination. Some prefer Hayti, others to set apart a district beyond the Rocky Mountains, within the limits of the territory of the United States, whilst much the larger number concur in the superior advantage of the plan of the American Colonization Society. The Society opposes no other scheme. All other projects, if they are executed, are perfectly compatible with its own, and it wishes them full success. The more drains the better for this portion of our population. It would only deprecate the result of a distraction of the public atten-

tion amidst a variety of proposals, and a consequent failure to concentrate the energies of the community on any one of them.

Hayti is objectionable as the sole place of their removal on various accounts. It is too limited in its extent. Although a large island, containing considerable quantities of unsettled land, it is incompetent as an asylum, during any great length of time, for the free persons of color of the United States. It possesses no advantage, either in the salubrity of its climate, or the fertility of its soil, over the Western Coast of Africa. The productions of both countries are nearly the same. The expense of transportation to the one or to the other, is nearly the same. The emigrants would be in a state of dependence on the present inhabitants of the island, who have more intelligence and have made greater advances in civilization, and moreover possess all the power of the government. They speak a different language. It should not be the policy of the United States, when they consider the predominant power of the island, and its vicinity to the Southern states, to add strength to it. And finally, Hayti is destitute of some of those high moral considerations which belong to the foundation of a colony in Africa.

The country west of the Rocky Mountains, is also objectionable on several grounds. The expense of transportation of emigrants to it, whether by sea or land, would be incomparably greater than to Africa. They would be thrown in the midst of Indian tribes, to whom they are as incongruous as with the whites. Bloody and exterminating wars would be the certain consequence; and the United States would be bound to incur great expense in defending them and preserving peace. Finally, that wave of the European race which rose on the borders of the Atlantic, swept over the Alleghany Mountains, reached the Mississippi, and ascended the two great rivers which unite near St. Louis, will at no distant day pass the Rocky Mountains, and strike the Pacific, where it would again produce that very contact between discordant races which it is so desirable to avoid.

The Society has demonstrated the practicability of planting a colony on the shores of Africa. Its exertions have been confined exclusively to the free colored people of the United States, and to those of them who are willing to go. It has neither purpose nor power to extend them to the larger portion of that race held in bondage. Throughout the whole period of its existence this disclaimer has been made, and incontestible facts establish its truth and sincerity. It is now repeated, in its behalf, that the spirit of misrepresentation may have no pretext for abusing the public ear. But, although its scheme is so restricted, the Society is aware, and rejoices that the principle of African colonization, which it has developed, admits of wider scope and more extensive application, by those states and private individuals, who may have the power and the inclination to apply it.

The slave population of the United States, according to the last returns of their census, as was shown more in detail, on another occasion, increased in a ratio of about 46,000 per annum. It may, perhaps, now be estimated at not less than 50,000. It was said on that occasion: "Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States, an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that cast, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find, at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions will be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the population would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude, from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who,

by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space." To transport to Africa fifty thousand persons, would cost one million of dollars upon the estimate before stated. One million of dollars applied annually, during a period of sixty or seventy years, would, at the end of it, so completely drain the United States of all that portion of their inhabitants, as not to leave many more than those few who are objects of curiosity in the countries of Europe. And is that sum, one-tenth part of what the United States now annually appropriate as a sinking fund, without feeling it, and which will soon not be requisite to the extinction of the National debt, capable of producing any suffering or creating any impediment in the execution of other great social objects of the American communities?—What a vast moral debt to Africa, to the world, and to our common God, should we not discharge by the creation of a new sinking fund of such a paltry sum?

This estimate does not comprehend any indemnity to the owners of slaves for their value, if they are to be purchased for the purpose of colonization. It is presumable that states or individuals, no longer restrained from the execution of their benevolent wish to contribute their endeavours to blot out this great stain upon the American name, by the consideration of the difficulty of a suitable provision for liberated slaves, when they perceive the plan of colonization in successful operation, will voluntarily manumit many for the purpose of their emigration. One of the latest numbers of the *National Intelligencer*, states the fact, that a recent offer had been made of 2000 slaves to the Society, to be sent to Liberia, which the want of funds alone prevents its accepting. If the reasoning before employed, founded upon the decline in value of that description of property, be correct, many will be disposed to emancipate from less disinterested motives. From some, or all of these sources, and from the free colored population, an amount may be annually obtained for the purposes of colonization, equal to the number of fifty-six thousand which has been supposed. As the work of colonization advances, the ability of the European race to promote it will increase, both from the augmentation of its numbers and of its wealth, and the relative diminution of the negro race. And, in the course of the progress of its execution, it will not be found a burthensome appropriation of some of the revenue of the people of the United States, to purchase slaves, if colonists cannot otherwise be obtained. Meanwhile it affords cause of the sincerest gratification, that in whatever extent the scheme of African colonization is executed, good is attained, without a solitary attendant evil.

I could not discuss the question of the extent of the respective powers of the various governments of this Union, without enlarging this address, already too much prolonged, in a most unreasonable degree. That the aggregate of their total powers is fully adequate to the execution of the plan of Colonization, in its greatest extent, is incontestible. How those powers have, in fact, been divided and distributed between the General and State Governments, is a question for themselves to decide after careful investigation and full deliberation. We may safely assume that there are some things which each system is competent to perform, towards the accomplishment of the great work. The General Government can treat with Foreign powers of the security of the Colony, and with the Emperor of Morocco, or other African Princes or States, for the acquisition of territory. It may provide in the Colony an asylum for natives of Africa introduced into the United States, in contravention to their laws, and for their support and protection, as it has done. And it may employ portions of our Navy, whilst engaged in practising to acquire the needful discipline and skill, or in proceeding to their appointed cruising stations, to transport emigrants from the United States to the Colony. Can a nobler service, in time of peace, be performed by the National flag, than that of transporting under its stars and stripes to the land of their ancestors, the sons of injured Africa, there to enjoy the blessings of

our pure religion and a real liberty? It can employ the Colony as the best and most efficacious instrument of suppressing the infamous slave trade.

Any of the States may apply, in their proper spheres, the powers which they possess and the means at their command. They may remove restraints upon emancipation, imposed from a painful conviction that slavery, with all its undisputed ills, was better than manumission without removal. Such of them may, as can safely and justly, abolish slavery and follow the example of Pennsylvania, New York, and other states. Any of them can contribute some pecuniary aid to the object. And if an enlargement of the Constitutional powers of the General Government be necessary and expedient, they are competent to grant it.

I have thus, gentlemen, presented a faint and imperfect sketch of what was contemplated by the American Colonization Society, to which you form an auxiliary, of what it has done, and of what the principle of African Colonization, which it has successfully illustrated, is susceptible, with due encouragement, and adequate means, in the hands of competent authority. We ought not to be disheartened by the little which has been accomplished, in the brief space of eight years during which it has existed, or the magnitude and difficulties of the splendid undertaking which lies before us. In the execution of those vast schemes which affect the condition and happiness of large portions of the habitable globe, time is necessary, which may appear to us mortals of long duration, but which in the eyes of Providence, or in comparison with the periods of National existence, is short and fleeting. How long was it after Romulus and Remus laid the scanty foundations of their little state in the contracted limits of the Peninsula of Italy, before Imperial Rome burst forth, in all her astonishing splendour, the acknowledged mistress of the world? Ages passed away before Carthage and other colonies in ancient times, shone out in all their commercial and military glory. Several centuries have now elapsed since our forefathers first began, in the morasses of James river, and the rock of Plymouth, the work of founding this Republic, yet in its infancy. Eighteen hundred years have rolled over since the Son of God, our blessed Redeemer, offered himself, on Mount Calvary, a voluntary sacrifice for the salvation of our species; and more than half of mankind continue to deny his divine mission and the truth of his sacred word.

We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature for the record of any human plan, for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African Colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race, but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty here and every where. The colonists, reared in the bosom of this republic, with a perfect knowledge of all the blessings which freedom imparts, altho' they have not always been able themselves to share them, will carry a recollection of it to Africa, plant it there, and spread it over her boundless territory. And may we not indulge the hope that, in a period of time not surpassing in duration, that of our own colonial and national existence, we shall behold a confederation of republican states, on the western shores of Africa, like our own, with their congress and annual legislatures thundering forth in behalf of the rights of man, and making tyrants tremble on their thrones? It appeals for aid and support to the friends of civilization throughout the world. Africa, altho' a portion of it was among the first to emerge from barbarism, is now greatly in the rear of all the continents, in knowledge, and in the arts and sciences. America owes to the old world a debt of gratitude for the pos-

session of them. Can she discharge it in any more suitable manner than that of transplanting them on a part of its own soil, by means of its own sons, whose ancestors were torn by fraud and violence from their native home and thrown here into bondage? It powerfully appeals for support to patriotism and humanity. If we were to invoke the greatest blessing on earth, which Heaven, in its mercy, could now bestow on this nation, it would be the separation of the two most numerous races of its population and their comfortable establishment in distinct and distant countries. To say nothing of the greatest difficulty in the formation of our present happy constitution, which arose out of this mixed condition of our people, nothing of the distracting Missouri question which was so threatening; nothing of others, springing from the same fruitful source, which yet agitate us, who can contemplate the future without the most awful apprehensions? Who, if this promiscuous residence of whites and blacks, of freemen and slaves, is forever to continue, can imagine the servile wars, the carnage and the crimes which will be its probable consequences, without shuddering with horror? It finally appeals emphatically for aid and support to the reverend clergy and sincere professors of our holy religion. If the project did not look beyond the happiness of the two races now in America, it would be entitled to their warmest encouragement. If it were confined to the removal only of the free colored population, it would deserve all their patronage. Within those restrictions how greatly would it not contribute to promote the cause of virtue and morality, and consequently religion! But it presents a much more extensive field—a field only limited by the confines of one of the largest quarters of the habitable globe—for religious and benevolent exertion. Throughout the entire existence of Christianity it has been a favorite object of its ardent disciples and pious professors to diffuse its blessings by converting the heathen. This duty is enjoined by its own sacred precepts and prompted by considerations of humanity. All christendom is more or less employed on this object, at this moment, in some part or other of the earth. But it must, in candour, be owned, that hitherto missionary efforts have not had a success corresponding, in extent, with the piety and benevolence of their aim, or with the amount of the means which have been applied. Some new and more efficacious mode of accomplishing the beneficent purpose must be devised, which by concentrating energies and endeavours, and avoiding loss in their diffuse and uncombined application, shall ensure the attainment of more cheering results. The American Colonization Society presents itself to the religious world as uniting those great advantages. Almost all Africa is in a state of the deepest ignorance and barbarism, and addicted to idolatry and superstition. It is destitute of the blessings both of christianity and civilization. The society, is an instrument which, under the guidance of providence, with public assistance, is competent to spread the lights of both, throughout its vast dominions. And the means are as simple as the end is grand and magnificent. They are to deviate from the practice of previous missionary institutions, and employ as agents some of the very brethren of the heathen sought to be converted and brought within the pale of civilization. The Society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of christianity into a foreign land, among a different and perhaps a suspicious race, of another complexion, but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, in one view of its scheme, six thousand, in another, fifty-six thousand missionaries, of the descendants of Africa itself, with the same interests, sympathies, and constitutions of the natives, to communicate the benefits of our religion and of the arts. And this colony of missionaries, is to operate not alone by preaching the doctrines of truth and of revelation, which however delightful to the ears of the faithful and intelligent, are not always comprehended by untutored savages, but also by works of ocular demonstration. It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of public worship, and practically exhibit

to the native sons of Africa the beautiful moral spectacle and the superior advantages of our religious and social systems. In this unexaggerated view of the subject, the colony, compared with other missionary plans, presents the force and grandeur of a noble steamer majestically ascending, and with ease subduing, the current of the Mississippi, in comparison with the feeble and tottering canoe, moving slowly among the reeds that fringe its shores. It holds up the image of the resistless power of the Mississippi itself, rushing from the summits of the Rocky Mountains and marking its deep and broad and rapid course through the heart of this continent, thousands of miles, to the Gulph of Mexico, in comparison with that of an obscure rivulet winding its undiscernible way through dark and dense forests or luxurient prairies, in which it is quickly and forever lost.

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society of Kentucky ! not one word need be added, in conclusion, to animate your perseverance or to stimulate your labors, in the humane cause which you have deliberately espoused. We have reason to believe that we have been hitherto favored, and shall continue to be blessed, with the smiles of Providence. Confiding in his approving judgment and conscious of the benevolence and purity of our intentions, we may fearlessly advance in our great work. And, when we shall, as soon we must, be translated from this into another form of existence, is the hope presumptuous, that we shall there behold the common Father of whites and of blacks, the great Ruler of the universe, cast his all seeing eye upon civilized and regenerated Africa, its cultivated fields, its coast studded with numerous cities, adorned with towering temples, dedicated to the pure religion of his redeeming Son, its far-famed Niger, and other great rivers, lined with flourishing villages, and navigated with that wonderful power which American genius first successfully applied ; and that, after dwelling with satisfaction upon the glorious spectacle, he will deign to look with approbation upon us, His humble instruments, who have contributed to produce it ?

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